

administration in American history; no matter that these insurgents could point in justification of their course, if indeed such justification be necessary, to the explicit or implied pledges of their party platform and to the reiterated promises of party candidates. These are not matters worth considering. The all important point is that the republican party sold itself to the representatives of special interests and now the republican administration must become the obedient instrument through which those interests rivet chains upon the people.

According to the president's spokesman the president is withholding patronage from these republican insurgents merely to "impress them of their obligation." Their obligation to whom? To the people of their districts and to the people of their states to whom they gave the promise that they would vote in accordance with the public welfare, or to the coterie of men who provided the republican party with campaign funds?

Party pressure is strong and because of the republican party's thorough discipline it has been difficult for members of that party to rebel. But the differences between these insurgents and the republican leadership is fundamental to the perpetuity of popular government. It may be, as Mr. Rosewater says, that many of them have already surrendered in the face of the threat to withdraw patronage from them. It may be that others will surrender. It can not be that among all that number there will not be men who are brave enough to carry on their fight against the powerful system that has already captured the republican party and seeks to use it in the effort to capture the American government.

Those who will remain faithful will have no offices to bestow but they will have the approval of their own conscience. They will find also that when the eyes of the American people shall have opened to the gigantic scheme of plunder that is being concocted under the authority of the republican party, the people will see to it that the men who now withhold and distribute public offices as a return for private favor will have no patronage to give and no favors to deny.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

A few weeks ago the press dispatches informed the American people that six of the presidents of the leading railroad companies had called at the White House and had discussed with the president the special message then in the course of preparation, relating to railroads and trusts. The people were told that when these railway presidents left the White House they were dejected, the inference being that they had encountered a man who had a well devised plan of giving to the American people relief from long continued imposition and that they had been unable to swerve him from his high purpose.

Who was it that said "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty?" And who, of a later period, quoting that warning, declared that it ought to be posted in every counting room and in every school house and workshop of the land? It is safe to say the average newspaper reader really believed that these railway presidents were dejected after they had learned the purport of the president's special message. Had they but learned the importance of "eternal vigilance" on the freeman's part, they would have accepted that newspaper story with several grains of allowance, particularly in view of the record this administration has made and the views its leaders have expressed upon matters affecting the control of great corporate interests.

The special message has been delivered and it may now be seen that instead of giving these railway presidents cause for dejection the president gave them practically everything they could wish for in the way of presidential recommendation. He recommends the creation of a court of commerce to be composed of five judges designated for such purpose from among the circuit judges of the United States. This court is to have exclusive original jurisdiction of all cases that have to deal with any order made by the interstate commerce commission; all cases that come up under the Elkins act and all mandamus proceedings relating to railroads. The president points out that if this plan be adopted it will be necessary for congress to authorize him to appoint five additional circuit judges. So anxious is the president to centralize all power with respect to railroad companies that while advising that all judicial power be vested in his proposed court of commerce, he recommends that all litigation should be under the direct control of the department of justice, thus

depriving the interstate commerce commission of the right of initiative. Then he recommends that railroads be given the privilege of "pooling arrangements." He thinks that the railroads ought to have the privilege of making agreements subject to the provisions of the interstate commerce act and providing that copies of such agreements be filed with the interstate commerce commission and providing also that any railroad party to the agreement may cancel the agreement by giving thirty days notice in writing to the other parties to the agreement and to the commission.

The president makes several suggestions tending to the protection of the public, such as empowering the commission to pass upon freight classifications and to hold up new rates until an inquiry as to their reasonableness can be made. But the important point is that the president would place all litigation respecting the enforcement of federal law concerning the railroads under the direct control of the department of justice, such litigation to be passed upon by a court designated for that purpose by the president. The suggestion is in perfect harmony with the policy of centralization to which the republican party so strongly leans. It is in perfect harmony with the policy of this administration whose particular business seems to be the placing of all control over corporations in some central power that shall be either too busy or too indifferent to give to the subject the attention demanded for it by the public welfare.

AND NOW HE WANTS THE CENTRAL BANK

The acquirement by J. Pierpont Morgan of Levi P. Morton's trust company has directed public attention to Morgan's power in the financial world. This company has a total capitalization of \$5,000,000 with resources of \$170,000,000. The United Press is authority for this statement:

Morgan has time and again been referred to as the money king of America, but he never deserved the title more than he does now. Here are the banks, and trust companies and insurance concerns that he either owns or controls:

Equitable Life, \$472,339,508.
Equitable Trust company, \$63,821,500.
Mercantile Trust company, \$63,474,700.
Guaranty Trust company, \$170,000,000.
National Bank of Commerce, \$226,549,095.
First National Bank, \$139,621,689.
Chase National Bank, \$107,285,710.
Mechanics' National Bank, \$51,346,368.
National Copper Bank, \$40,307,764.
Liberty National Bank, \$24,705,014.
Bankers' Trust, \$53,926,900.
Astor Trust company, \$15,205,900.
New York Life, \$494,408,807.
National City Bank (Standard Oil control) \$280,447,971.

New York Trust, \$66,145,300.
Standard Trust, \$18,450,100.
The railroad and industrial corporations, of which Morgan either owns the giant share of the securities or dictates the policies are:

Southern Railway, \$466,609,877.
Pere Marquette, \$96,348,000.
Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, \$82,369,000.
Chicago Great Western, \$104,766,015.
International Harvester Co., \$120,000,000.
International Merchant Marine, \$180,265,361.

United States Steel corporation, \$1,497,001,500.

Erie Railway, \$414,256,417.
Pullman company, \$100,000,000.
General Electric Co., \$80,101,600.
American Telephone and Western Union, \$515,073,200.

United Dry Goods Co., \$20,000,000.
Public Service corporation, New Jersey, \$66,500,000.

Interborough Rapid Transit, \$169,192,000.
Hudson-Manhattan Co., \$57,374,000.
Brooklyn Rapid Transit, \$125,000,000.

A group of railroads in which Morgan control is nominal, but which are manipulated through his banking house, is capitalized at \$3,559,104,646.

With a total of more than ten billion dollars in resources in the above companies, Morgan, it is claimed in financial circles, can do about as he pleases with the finances of the country, no matter what monetary legislation is enacted by congress and there is a general feeling of wonderment in Wall Street today as to where the aged financier is going to get off. It is known that his recent activity in assuming control of the big banks, trust and insurance companies is all part of one general

plan that was decided on by Morgan and his advisors following the panic of 1907.

Closer control of banks and stricter restrictions for their management were the suggestions Morgan made when he was asked at that time what remedy there was for the panic and, judging from recent developments, he has set out to secure the closer control at any rate.

And now he wants the American people to give him the central bank.

Will they do it?

MR. BRYAN IN CUBA

From Havana News report: At a breakfast given by Minister Morgan at the "Miramar" (Havana) today, at which about eighty guests participated, including Americans, Cubans and Spaniards, among whom were Vice President Zayas, Speaker Ferrera, General Mario Menocal, Mayor Cardenas, Governor Asbert, and several members of the Cuban congress, Mr. Bryan made a brief speech.

After expressing his regrets that he would be unable to address the Y. M. C. A., and paying a high tribute to that association and the work that it was doing, he referred to the former visit he made to Cuba when President Palma was inaugurated, and added, in substance:

"I am glad to see the young republic, which our own government helped to put on its feet, meeting successfully the problems which come before it. Do not be discouraged, because things do not go as well as you would desire; you must expect to make mistakes; we make mistakes in the United States. Those who take a superficial view of public affairs sometimes cite civil war as an evidence of incapacity for self-government. No American should take this view, for we had in the United States the greatest civil war in the history of the world and no one uses that argument against our capacity to govern ourselves.

"Resort to violence is always deplorable and will, I think, become less frequent, as civilization advances. As man rises in intelligence and morals, reason will more and more be substituted for force and violence in the settlement of difficulties. The day will come when the world will see the folly of the doctrine that you can justly settle a difference of opinion by shooting the man who may differ from you. There is a growing acceptance of representative government and the fundamental doctrine of representative government is acquiescence in the will of the majority. That was the doctrine taught by Jefferson, the greatest exponent of representative government who ever lived; and it is necessary to the existence of all republics. You will recognize my right to emphasize this doctrine for I have three times met defeat, when supported by more than six million voters, but I congratulated my successful opponent on each occasion, and had any attempt been made to deprive him of his victory, no one would have supported him more loyally than I.

"The doctrine that the people have a right to govern themselves does not imply that they will not make mistakes; it means that the many have the right to make their own mistakes and also the right to correct them. A few can not claim a God-given right to make the mistakes for the many. If we find ourselves in the minority, our remedy is not to question the right of a majority to rule, but to make an effort to convince the majority that we are right and to await with patience the triumph of our ideas, confident that they will triumph if we are right.

"When faith in the people is accompanied by faith in the triumph of the right, we endure such evils as we can not prevent, sustained by the belief that in time every evil will be corrected and that every righteous principle will be vindicated."

MR. SHAW KNEW

Leslie M. Shaw, former secretary of the treasury, in a newspaper interview printed August 12, 1903, said:

"It is all nonsense to talk about a revision of the tariff. It can not be done. You may as well understand that at the outset. Republicans who are demanding revision are demanding the impossible."

Mr. Shaw knew. How did it happen that the rank and file of the republicans did not know? Will they never learn that republicans demand the impossible when they call for legislation in the public welfare at the hands of a party that derives its campaign funds from special interests?